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FRAGMENT OF AN ARAMAIC TEXT OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI.

THE question of the authorship and date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has been much discussed of late years; and the opinions of recent scholars have constantly tended to assign to it a Jewish origin, and a pre-Christian date. This view, already held by Grabe, was discredited for a time, but was again strongly advocated by Schnapp¹, whose conclusions were greatly strengthened by the arguments of Kohler² and Conybeare³ expressed in their articles which appeared in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, and with these scholars Schürer⁴, in the latest edition of his history, appears to agree. It is hoped that the publication of the annexed fragment of a hitherto-unknown Aramaic Text may throw some light on the problem. The MS. from which our text is taken is one of the many treasures which are contained in the "Schechter-Taylor" collection of MSS. brought by Prof. Schechter from the Cairo Genizah in 1896, and now in the University Library at Cambridge⁵; we owe it to the kindness of these gentlemen that we are enabled to give this fragment to the public.

The fragment consists of one complete leaf, and attaching to it a very small portion of a second leaf of a two-column vellum MS., written in an Oriental hand, which can scarcely be later than the eleventh century. The leaf is ten inches square, and is in some places so severely mutilated as to be

¹ *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen.*

² "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada," *J. Q. R.*, vol. V, pp. 400-406.

³ "On the Jewish Authorship of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," *ibid.*, pp. 375-398. ⁴ *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*, 3rd edit., vol. III, p. 257.

⁵ It was my good fortune to discover the MS. in February last.—H. L. P.

entirely illegible. The nature of the fold in the vellum leads to the belief, that the very small fragment is part of a page which occurred earlier in the original MS. than the complete leaf, though it may or may not have immediately preceded it. Each column consists of twenty-three lines, and there is no punctuation of any kind, the beginning of a new paragraph being indicated by a small lacuna which in one instance (fol. 2 a, col. 1, l. 16) is misplaced.

The discovery of the Armenian Version has placed it beyond doubt that the author of our Greek Text handled his material with considerable freedom, both omitting from, adding to, and remoulding the original text. It was therefore to be expected that the Aramaic Text should show some considerable divergence from the Greek, and this will be seen to be the case, although their verbal identity in many places is an almost certain testimony to their common origin.

To facilitate the necessary comparison we have printed by the side of the Aramaic such passages of the Greek Text as were identical with, or strongly reminiscent of it. In so doing we have been obliged at times to change the order of the Greek, and to omit that part of it which found no place in the Aramaic. We have, therefore, appended in its integrity the Greek Text of chapters 11-13, which is the portion of the Testament covered by the Aramaic¹. So much for the treatment of that part of the MS. contained in the complete leaf, with regard to that part which is contained in the very small portion that remains of the second leaf we can say little, and have been able to find no direct parallel in the Greek; from such words, however, as are legible it would appear that we have here a portion of the biographical section of the Testament, and that the Patriarch is describing the events narrated in Gen. xxxiv, fol. 1 a, if we have deciphered it correctly, containing the invitation to circumcision (Gen. xxxiv. 22) and fol. 1 b, describing the subsequent

¹ The Greek Text which we have in all cases followed is that of Dr. Sinker, *Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum*, Cambridge, 1869.

plundering of the town (Gen. xxxiv. 27-29); a passage somewhat similar to the latter occurs in the Testament of Judah (chap. v) where the siege of a town is being described.

Besides the Armenian, Slavonic, and Greek Texts, together with the versions made from the latter, there exist two Semitic fragments of the Testaments. The first is the Testament of Naphtali in Hebrew¹, the second a very short extract from the Testament of Levi in Syriac², which, by a strange coincidence, covers a small portion of the Aramaic Text now published, and is almost verbally identical with it. It occurs in a Brit. Mus. MS. [Add. 17,193] dated A. D. 874, which contains 125 short miscellaneous extracts, of which it is No. 80, it is given in full by Prof. Wright in his Catalogue from which we reproduce it³.

H. LEONARD PASS.
J. ARENDZEN.

PS. Since the above was in print there appeared on May 29 the second number of Dr. Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, containing two articles on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; the first by the editor, *Die armenische Uebersetzung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*; the second by W. Bousset, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*. The former article contains a German translation of the Armenian version of the Testament of Levi in two recensions. The latter attempts to reconstruct the original text *auf Grund der Textzeugen*. Various points raised in these articles, together with some others in recent literature on the Testaments, we hope to discuss in their bearing on our fragment in a future number of the *J. Q. R.*

¹ Published, with introduction, critical apparatus, and translation, by Dr. Gaster in the *Proc. of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XII, also by S. A. Wertheimer, Jerusalem, 1890. Vid. Schürer, op. cit.; Resch, *Das hebräische Testam.*, *Naphthali*, Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1899, pp. 206-236, and Kautsch, *Apocrypha*, Introduction to Testament of Twelve Patriarchs.

² Our thanks to Dr. Sinker for calling our attention to this fragment.

³ Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in British Museum*, Pt. II, p. 997.

Fol. 1 a, col. 2.

(First 14 lines are missing.)

15. .. מאガ ..
 16. דברת יי' כלא ..
 17. למעבר בירין בכ ..
 18. יעקב אבוי ורא ..
 19. ואמתנו להוו ב .. . רוא ..
 20. צביוין איזון ונחיה ב[ר]ן ..
 21. תחריו נזוז ערלהת בשרכו ..
 22. החהחין .. . וההוו החהמין ..
 23. כאחן במליה .. . ויהיו לכ ..

Fol. 1 b, col. 2.

(First 14 lines are missing.)

15. .. ארי בכל עיר ..
 16. יי' הו בשכם ..
 17. ארי ואחריו יי' ..
 18. בשכם וינה ..
 19. .. רוי חמאת ואחרוי ..
 20. .. אנה שפטנו ..
 21. .. אן יה[ע]ן .. ד' לארבן ..
 22. .. שי' ושור ..
 23. .. הרות קומתא שבק עאנא ..

Fol. 2 a, col. I.

20. יוכבר אַמְ[רָתָה] כִּי יִלְיָהָה לִי לִירָה
לִידָה לִי לְכַבְּדָה לִישָׁאָל
21. בְּשַׁנְתָה שְׁרִים וְאֶבְרָעָה לִיהָי וְיִלְיָהָה
בְּשַׁנְתָה שְׁרִים וְאֶבְרָעָה לִיהָי וְיִלְיָהָה
22. בְּחַד בְּחַרְשָׁא שְׁבֻעָה מִן בְּחַד רֵי
בְּחַד בְּחַרְשָׁא שְׁבֻעָה מִן בְּחַד רֵי
23.

col. 2.

1. מְצָרִים בְּשַׁנְתָה שָׂתָן
ה
2. עַלְגָּה לְאָרָעָ צְצִירָם וְבְנֵי
עַש
3. בְּנָת אֲחָי לְעַדָּן אֲשִׁיחָה
...
4. שֵׁם בְּנֵי [בְּגַנְיוֹן]
[בְּגַנְיוֹן]
5. נְשָׁמָם [לְבִנֵּי] שְׁטוּעִי וְשֵׁם בְּנֵי
[קְרָת] עַמְ[רָם] יִזְחָאֵל וְעוֹזָאֵל
6.
7. שֵׁם [בְּנֵי] כְּרוּרִי מְחָלִי וְמוֹשָׁחָה
...
[גַּמְבָּה] לְה עַמְרָם אַנְתָה לְיִוכְבָּר בְּרָהָה
8.
�ַד רֵי אֲנָה חֵי בְשַׁת הַשְׁעִזָּוָן וְאֶרְ[בָּעָן]
9.
10. קְהִי וְקְהִי שְׁבָה רֵי עַמְרָם כְּרָנָן
11. לְיִהְיָה עַמְרָם אֲרִי אֲמֹרָה כְּרִי לְיִהְיָה
12. דְּנָה שְׁעָמָה מִן [אֶרְעָבָן] צְרִים
13.
ראַבָּא

- ‘H δέ, Ιωχαβέδ [ἐξηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει] ἐτέθη
ἐν Αἰρόπτῳ ἔυδοξος
γάρ γῆμψε ἐν μέσῳ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν
μου.

¹ W. Wright's Catalogue of Syriac MSS., Part II, p. 997 [Add. 17,193].

80. An extract from the Testament of Levi:—

لهم وَهُدْمَا بِهَا حَدَّهُمْ بَعْدَهُمْ وَفَسَدَهُمْ عَنْ بَلَاغِهَا وَمَدَّهُمْ
بَعْدَهُمْ قَطْنَمْ بَعْدَهُمْ خَلَقَهُمْ لَوْلَاهُمْ بَلَغُوهُمْ فَلَمَّا كَانُوا
خَلَقُوهُمْ جَهَلُهُمْ فَلَمَّا كَانُوا قَطْنَمْ بَعْدَهُمْ كَانُوا سَأَلُوكُمْ هَذِهِهِمْ
حَدَّهُمْ وَأَنْتَمْ قَطْنَمْ بَعْدَهُمْ دَعْوَفُونَ وَلَمَّا كَانُوا قَطْنَمْ بَعْدَهُمْ

Fol. 2 b, col. I.

1. **אָמֵן** בְּכָל יְמֵי הַיּוֹם שֶׁנִּזְהַר לִי בְּבִין תְּחִזְקָתְךָ וְ[מִתְחִזְקָתְךָ]
 2. **עֲדָם** שֶׁנִּזְהַר לִי בְּבִין תְּחִזְקָתְךָ וְ[מִתְחִזְקָתְךָ]
 3. **עֲדָם** שֶׁנִּזְהַר לִי מִיחַת וּ[שְׁגַנְתָּה]
 4. **עֲדָם** שֶׁנִּזְהַר לִי מִיחַת בָּה
 5. **עֲדָם** קִרְיָה לְבָבָו בְּבִירָיו
 6. **עֲדָם** פְּקֻדָּה הַגּוֹן בָּלְבָד וְתוֹךְ שְׁמַעְנוּ[?]
 7. **עֲדָם** לְבָבִי עִינָת אַמְרָת לְבָנָנוּ[?]
 8. **עֲדָם** לְמַאֲכָרִי לְאַבְנָנוּ וְחַצִּינוּ לְפִקְרוֹרִי
 9. **עֲדָם** לְנַגּוֹן מְפֻקָּד בָּנָו וְאַנְגָּה
 10. **עֲדָם** לְכָבוֹן מְהֻחָה חַבִּיבִי רַשְׁתָּה
 11. **עֲדָם** קְוִימָתְךָ וְעַדְעַתְךָ
 12. **עֲדָם** אָמֵן עַמְבָּדָה צְדָקוֹתָה
 13. **עֲדָם** קְוִישָׁתְךָ[?]
 14. **עֲדָם** זְרוּעָה עַלְיוֹתָה בְּרִכְבָּה וְ. . . אָדָם
 15. **עֲדָם** מָאָב מִלְּמָעָד נָעַל וְרוּעָה[?]
 16. **עֲדָם** אָבָב . רָעָה
 17. **עֲדָם** כִּי סְפֵר מָסָר

- Read probably טהלה = סודסfare.

- לה בה י' ר' [ר' א] צב' בולת צב' 11.
- לען ר' חוכמה ר' מ' [ה]^ו 12.
- סנואין שאלי שלטנות ר' ברבי' 13.
- על כורכי מודחובין לה 14.
- בריל ק' מ' עטchetochah 15.
- עוור ר' י' י' ח' חוכמה ר' 16.
- סמא באבא כל' קנוין אה' 17.
- 'אתן מלכין תקפני' עם ר' 18.
- אלת' ותרכזון סנואין סג' 19.
- ת' מ' מ' נסבון ב' עת' 20.
- ו' מ' י' י' ב' ב' ה' ג' 21.
- אצ'י חוכמתה לא י' ב' ג' 22.
- אלת' שבחון טפחים לא 23.

καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
δουλεῦσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκόνται νόμοιν,
Καὶ πολλοὺς φύλους κτήσηται
καὶ σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλέως

καὶ πόλεις διαθρευθῶσι καὶ πᾶσα κτῆσις
ἀπολεῖται, τοὺς σοφούς τὴν σοφίαν οἰδεῖς δύνα-
ται ἀφελέσσθαι.

ια'. "Οτε ούν ἔλαβον γυναῖκα, ἡμην ἐτῶν εἰκοσιοκτώ, ἦ δονομα Μελχᾶ. Καὶ συλλαβοῦστα ἔτεκε, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὸ δονομα αὐτοῦ Γηρσάμ· ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν πάροικοι ἡμεν Γηρσάμ γάρ παροικία γράφεται. Εἶδον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν πρώτῃ τάξει. Καὶ ὁ Καάθ ἐγεννήθη τριακοστῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἥλιου. Εἶδον δὲ ἐν ὁράματι ὅτι μέσος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς ὤστατο πάστης τῆς συναγωγῆς. Διὰ τούτο ἐκάλεσα τὸ δονομα αὐτοῦ Καάθ, ὁ ἐστιν ἀρχὴ μεγαλείου καὶ συμβιβασμός. Καὶ τρέις ἔτεκέ μοι τὸν Μεραρὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ ἔτει ζωῆς μου. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστόκησεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Μεραρὶ, ὁ ἐστι πικρία μου· ὅτι καίγε αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. 'Η δὲ Ἰωχαβὲδ ἑξηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἐτέχθη ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ· ἔνδοξος γάρ ἡμην τότε ἐμμέσω τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου.

ιβ'. Καὶ ἔλαβε Γηρσάμ γυναῖκα καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ τὸν Λομὶ καὶ τὸν Σεμεὶ. Καὶ νιὸν Καάθ, Ἀμβράμ, Ἰσαάρ, Χεβρώ, Ὁζήλ. Καὶ νιὸν Μεραρὶ, Μοολὶ καὶ ὘μουσὶ. Καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει μου ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀμβράμ τὴν Ἰωχαβὲδ θυγατέρα μου αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα· ὅτι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγεννήθησαν, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου. Ὁκτὼ ἐτῶν ἡμην ὅτε εἰσῆλθον εἰς γῆν Χαναάν· καὶ ὀκτωκαΐδεκα ἐτῶν ὅτε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν Συχέμ· καὶ ἐννεακαΐδεκα ἐτῶν ἵεράτευσα· καὶ εἰκοσιοκτὼ ἐτῶν, ἔλαβον γυναῖκα· καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν, εἰσῆλθον εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Καὶ ἴδού, τέκνα μού ἐστε, τέκνα μου, τρίτη γενεά. Ἰωσὴφ ἐκατοστῷ ὀκτωκαΐδεκάτῳ ἔτει ἀπέθανε.

ιγ'. Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα μου, ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἵνα φοβῆσθε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας· καὶ πορεύεσθε ἐν ἀπλότητι κατὰ πάντα τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν. Διδάξατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν γράμματα ἵνα ἔχωσι σύνεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι πᾶς ὃς γνώσεται νόμον θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ξένος ὅπου ὑπάγει. Καίγε πολλοὺς φίλους ὑπὲρ γονεῖς κτήσεται καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δουλεῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι νόμον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. Ποιήσατε δικαιοσύνην, τέκνα μου, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἵνα εὔρητε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ σπείρετε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ ἵνα εὔρητε αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν. 'Εάν γάρ σπείρητε κακά, πᾶσαν ταραχὴν καὶ θλίψιν θερίσετε. Σοφίαν κτήσασθε ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς· ὅτι ἐὰν γένηται αἰχμαλωσία καὶ πόλεις ὀλοθρευθῶσι καὶ χῶραι καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ πᾶσα κτῆσις ἀπολεῖται, τοῦ σοφοῦ τὴν σοφίαν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀφελέσθαι εἰ μὴ τύφλωσις ἀστεβείας καὶ πήρωσις ἀμαρτίας· ὅτι γενήσεται αὐτὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας πατρὶς καὶ ἐμμέσω ἐχθρῶν εὑρηθήσεται φίλος. 'Εάν διδάσκῃ ταῦτα καὶ πράττῃ, σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλέως ὡς καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν.